

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EA:ROAKLEY;RHOLBROOKE:EBS
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S/S:SRPVALERGA

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TO AMEMBASSY MANILA NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO CINCPAC

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EXDIS MILITARY ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER), RP, US

SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE VISIT
EYES ONLY FOR ADM. WEISNER
REFS: A) MANILA 1917, B) MANILA 1918, C) STATE
029673

1. YOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MARCOS ON MONDAY WILL PROVIDE AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS FOUR ISSUES THAT ARE OBVIOUSLY INTERRELATED: THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL TRIP, THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE BASE AGREEMENTS. PURSUANT TO YOUR COMMENT IN REF. A AND B, WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN YOUR PRIVATE TALK WITH MARCOS:

A. THE PRESIDENT WISHES TO DEMONSTRATE THE CONTINUED
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IMPORTANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION, PARTICULARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA. HOWEVER, HIS TRAVELING SCHEDULE MAKES A TRIP BY HIM TO ASIA HIGHLY UNLIKELY IN 1978. ACCORDINGLY, HE HAS ASKED THE VICE PRESIDENT TO MAKE A TRIP TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC IN APRIL. WE ARE CURRENTLY PLANNING THIS TRIP, AND

WE BELIEVE THAT A VISIT TO MANILA WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT PART OF SUCH A TRIP, ALONG WITH STOPS IN SEVERAL OTHER IMPORTANT CAPITALS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. THE TENTATIVE

DATES FOR THE ENTIRE TRIP ARE FROM ABOUT APRIL 7 TO APRIL 17, AND A STOP IN MANILA FOR ABOUT 36 HOURS IN THE TIME FRAME OF APRIL 12-16 WOULD BE MOST CONVENIENT FOR US, IF THE TIMING WERE ALSO CONVENIENT FOR THE GOP.

B. THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT EXIST IN REGARD TO THE AFTER-MATH OF THE ELECTIONS AND IN REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS WHEN THE VICE PRESIDENT COMES TO MANILA WILL HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THE FUTURE OF US-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS. IF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND ITS RESULT ARE PERCEIVED AS MERELY COSMETIC BY THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, THEN THE ADDITIONAL ATTENTION THAT A VICE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT WILL FOCUS ON THE PHILIPPINES COULD ACTUALLY RESULT IN DAMAGE TO US-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS. IT IS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL THAT IF THE TRIP IS TO MARK AND TO SYMBOLIZE THE NEW AND IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS, THAT IT TAKE PLACE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF VISIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARDS GREATER DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL AND PRESS FREEDOM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

C. WITH REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS, MAKE THE SPECIFIC POINTS IN THE LATTER PART OF PARA. 4 OF REF. A IN WHATEVER MANNER BEST FITS YOUR PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF THESE POINTS
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WITH MARCOS.

D. WITH REGARD TO ELECTIONS, YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT THEY WILL BE THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE PERCEPTION OF THE PHILIPPINES AT THE TIME OF MONDALE VISIT. WE VIEW YOUR DISCUSSION WITH MARCOS AS OFFERING OUR LAST, BEST CHANCE TO GET HIM TO MAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH ELECTIONS WILL BE SEEN AS A GENUINE CONTEST BETWEEN CANDIDATES WITH A CHOICE FOR THE ELECTORATE RATHER THAN ANOTHER RELATIVELY MEANINGLESS REFERENDUM. FURTHERMORE, YOU SHOULD NOTE TO MARCOS THAT IF THE VICE PRESIDENT ARRIVES IN MANILA SHORTLY AFTER AN ELECTION WHICH IS WIDELY VIEWED AS MEANINGLESS OR SHORT OF MARCOS' OWN STATED COMMITMENTS TO NORMALIZATION, THEN THE ADMINISTRATION WILL FACE VERY SHARP CRITICISM FOR MAKING SUCH A VISIT. THUS, THE VISIT WOULD TEND TO HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON LONG-TERM US-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS RATHER THAN PROVIDING A POSITIVE IMPETUS FOR STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONSHIP. THEREFORE, IS IT VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE ELECTIONS BE SEEN AS OFFERING A REAL FREEDOM OF CHOICE FOR THE ELECTORATE, AND THAT THE

RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION BE ENTICED TO PARTICIPATE. IF THE SITUATION EVOLVES AS FORESHADOWED IN MANILA'S BLEAK 1916, MUCH OF MARCOS' EFFORT AT NORMALIZATION WILL BE LOST, AND THE US REACTION WILL BE NEGATIVE. THE BLOC

VOTING AND FREE PRESS ISSUES WERE CITED BY MANGLAPUS AS BEING OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE, BUT HE NOTED THAT MANY OF THE OTHER STEPS ON ELECTIONS WERE QUITE POSITIVE. YOU SHOULD TELL MARCOS THIS, UNLESS YOU JUDGE IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

2. FOLLOWING THIS GENERAL INTRODUCTION, YOU SHOULD MAKE THE POINTS ON ELECTIONS IN REF. C AS MODIFIED IN REF. B, STRESSING THE NEED FOR FREEDOM OF COVERAGE AND REPORTING BY LOCAL AND FOREIGN PRESS OF THE ELECTIONS. THIS IS SECRET

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MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF DEMONSTRATING CREDIBLY THE VALIDITY OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. YOU SHOULD ALSO NOTE AS MENTIONED STATE 029673 AND OUR TELECON THE POINT I MADE TO MANGLAPUS ABOUT RESPONSIBILITY OF THE OPPOSITION. (FYI: WE DO NOT WISH TO ENCOURAGE OBSERVATION OF ELECTIONS BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, SINCE THIS COULD BE SEEN AS US INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IF GOP IS INTERESTED, ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION JURISTS MIGHT BE ENCOURAGED TO SEND OBSERVERS. END FYI).

3. WITH REGARD TO BASE DISCUSSIONS, YOU WILL NEED TO BE BOTH CANDID AND FLEXIBLE IN YOUR DISCUSSION WITH MARCOS. YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

A. THE US IS FULFILLING THE TIMETABLE DEVELOPED DURING THE JANUARY DISCUSSIONS. THE DEFENSE EQUIPMENT SURVEY TEAM ARRIVED ON SCHEDULE. WE EXPECT TO HAVE DRAFT TEXTS AMENDING THE 1947 BASES AGREEMENT FOR PRESENTATION TO THE GOP BY THE END OF THE WEEK. (OUR TIMETABLE IS TO HAVE COMPLETE DRAFTS TO YOU BY FEB. 8). YOU HAVE THE NON-PAPER ON NUCLEAR ATTACK WHICH HAS BEEN PROMISED MARCOS.

B. IN THE TEXTS WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PUT AS FORTHCOMING A POSITION AS POSSIBLE ON THE TABLE SO AS TO FACILITATE EARLY AGREEMENT.

C. COMPENSATION REMAINS OUR MOST DIFFICULT ISSUE. WE ARE PROCEEDING FULL SPEED IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO INDICATE THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE AS PROMISED BUT, AS HE IS AWARE, THIS IS A COMPLEX INTERNAL PROBLEM FOR THE USG AND CONGRESS AND WE WANT TO BE CAUTIOUS NOT TO MAKE

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PROMISES WE MAY BE UNABLE TO KEEP. WE WILL CONSULT CONGRESS AFTER DOD TEAM RETURNS.

4. FYI: WE DO NOT WISH TO LINK DIRECTLY THE BASE AGREEMENT AND THE MONDALE VISIT AT THIS TIME, OTHER THAN

TO MAKE GENERAL REFERENCE TO HOPE THAT WE WILL HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT BY THEN. HOWEVER, MARCOS MAY VIEW VISIT AS TIME BY WHICH "SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE" SHOULD BE SETTLED. IF HE WISHES TO OPERATE WITHIN SUCH A TIME-TABLE, WE SHOULD NOT DISCOURAGE HIM FROM DOING SO, PROVIDED HE UNDERSTANDS CLEARLY THAT THE COMPENSATION ISSUE WILL NOT BE RESOLVED BY THAT TIME. GIVEN THE CONGRESSIONAL CALENDAR, THE BEST WE COULD DO BETWEEN NOW AND APRIL ON COMPENSATION--AND EVEN THIS IS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN--WOULD BE TO PROVIDE MARCOS WITH THE FIRST "INDICATION" OF THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE OF THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE THAT HE REQUESTED OF US IN JANUARY. THAT "INDICATION" MAY BE SUBSTANTIALLY LOWER THAN HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES EXPECT, AND YOU SHOULD DO WHATEVER YOU CAN TO STRESS TO HIM THAT WE ARE OPERATING WITHIN TIGHT LIMITS CREATED BY THE PRESENT MOOD OF CONGRESS--THAT MOOD, OF COURSE, BEING DEEPLY AFFECTED BY HUMAN RIGHTS. AGAIN, DURING THE SEVERAL WEEKS AS WE CONSULT, THE PROGRESS TOWARD FREE ELECTIONS WILL BE A MAJOR DETERMINANT OF CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PHILIPPINES AND WILL INFLUENCE HILL REACTIONS TO OUR PROPOSALS ON COMPENSATION. IF MARCOS, UNDERSTANDING THIS POINT, STILL WISHES TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY ON THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE, AND HAVE THE BASE TRANSFER TAKE PLACE WITHIN A SPECIFIED TIME FRAME, SUCH AS PRIOR TO OR DURING THE MONDALE VISIT, THEN IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE, PROVIDED THAT WE CAN REACH FULL AGREEMENT ON ALL OUTSTANDING NON-MONETARY ISSUES RELATED TO THE REVISED MBA. THESE ARE ESSENTIALLY THE ONES ENUMERATED IN THE LIST YOU GAVE MARCOS ON JANUARY 10. END FYI.

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5. FINALLY, REGARDING THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL TRIP, YOU MAY TELL MARCOS THAT WE ARE NOT YET READY TO ANNOUNCE THE VISIT, AND THAT ANY LEAKS AT THIS TIME WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE. WE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR HIS VIEWS ON ALL THE ABOVE MATTERS BEFORE MAKING THE OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT,

WHICH WILL INCLUDE OTHER STOPS. IN THE MEANTIME, IF
THERE ARE ANY LEAKS (OTHER COUNTRIES ARE ALSO INVOLVED),
WE WILL MERELY SAY THAT WE ARE CONSIDERING SUCH A TRIP
BUT NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE. VANCE

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